





*Barnet Baskerville*









# ANALYSES OF ORATORICAL STYLE

Studies and Analyses of Oratorical Style and the  
Fundamental Character of Composition  
of Oratory

By

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AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF LAW  
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## PREFACE.

The purpose of the present volume of analyses of orations is to furnish a group of studies in the methods of oratorical style. The educational institutions provide much training in writing, but while it is excellent as far as it goes, it does not include as thorough explanation and practice as it should in the particular qualities of oratorical composition.

While the grammar and the general principles of the rhetoric of spoken English differ not from those of the written or essay style, yet there are distinct differences between the two. Since these have not been adequately treated in the text books upon the subject, the author has provided the analyses in the present volume, giving the student an opportunity to acquaint himself with the fundamental character of the composition of oratory.

## PREFACE

Robert Browning says in his poem,  
"Rabbi Ben Ezra,"

"Here work enough to watch  
The Master work, and catch  
Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the  
tool's true play."

So there is no better way of learning the best in oratorical style than by the study of the masters. It is hoped, too, that the student will become so interested in this phase of his study that he will be impelled to analyze for himself the orations and speeches in the volume, "Selected Speeches for Practice."

The orations of the present volume will furnish material for further practice in delivery.

R. E. PATTISON KLINE.



# ANALYSES OF ORATORICAL STYLE

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## INTRODUCTION.

### THE NATURE, GREATNESS AND RE- WARDS OF ELOQUENCE.

A discussion by the Latin orator, Cicero, of oratory. The student will do well to ponder long over this significant exposition by one of the world's great orators.

1. The art of eloquence is something greater, and collected from more sciences and studies than people imagine. For who can suppose that, amid the greatest multitude of students, the utmost abundance of masters, the most eminent geniuses among men, the infinite variety of causes, the most ample rewards offered to eloquence, there is any other reason to be found for the small number of orators than the incredible magnitude and difficulty of the art? A knowledge of a vast number of

things is necessary, without which volubility of words is empty and ridiculous; speech itself is to be formed, not merely by choice, but by careful construction of words; and all the emotions of the mind, which nature has given to man, must be intimately known; for all the force and art of speaking must be employed in allaying or exciting the feelings of those who listen.

2. To this must be added a certain portion of grace and wit, learning worthy of a well-bred man, and quickness and brevity in replying as well as attacking, accompanied with a refined decorum and urbanity. Besides, the whole of antiquity and a multitude of examples is to be kept in the memory; nor is the knowledge of laws in general, or of the civil law in particular, to be neglected. And why need I add any remarks on delivery itself, which is to be ordered by action of body, by gesture, by look, and by modulation and variation of the voice, the great power of which, alone and in itself, the comparatively trivial art of actors and the stage proves, on which though all bestow their utmost labor to

form their look, voice, and gesture, who knows not how few there are, and have ever been, to whom we can attend with patience?

3. What can I say of that repository for all things, the memory, which, unless it be made the keeper of the matter and words that are the fruits of thought and invention, all the talents of the orator, we see, though they be of the highest degree of excellence, will be of no avail? Let us, then, cease to wonder what is the cause of the scarcity of good speakers, since eloquence results from all those 'qualifications, in each of which singly it is a great merit to labor successfully.

In my opinion, indeed, no man can be an orator possessed of every praiseworthy accomplishment, unless he has attained the knowledge of everything important, and of all liberal arts, for his language must be ornate and copious from knowledge, since, unless there be beneath the surface matter understood and felt by the speaker, oratory becomes an empty and almost puerile flow of words.

4. Nothing seems to me more noble than to be able to fix the attention of assemblies of men by speaking, to fascinate their minds, to direct their passions to whatever object the orator pleases, and to dissuade them from whatsoever he desires. This particular art has constantly flourished above all others in every free state, and especially in those which have enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and has ever exercised great power. For what is so admirable as that, out of an infinite multitude of men, there should arise a single individual who can alone, or with only a few others, exert effectually that power which nature has granted to all?

5. Or what is so pleasant to be heard and understood as an oration adorned and polished with wise thoughts and weighty expressions? Or what is so striking, so astonishing, as that the tumults of the people, the religious feelings of judges, the gravity of the senate, should be swayed by the speech of one man? Or what, moreover, is so kingly, so liberal, so munificent, as to give assistance to the suppliant, to

raise the afflicted, to bestow security, to deliver from dangers, to maintain men in the rights of citizenship?

6. Or consider (that you may not always contemplate the forum, the benches, the rostra, and the senate) what can be more delightful in leisure, or more suited to social intercourse, than elegant conversation, betraying no want of intelligence on any subject? For it is by this one gift that we are most distinguished from brute animals, that we converse together, and can express our thoughts by speech. Who, therefore, would not justly make this an object of admiration, and think it worthy of his utmost exertions, to surpass mankind themselves in that single excellence by which they claim their superiority over brutes?

7. But, that we may notice the most important point of all, what other power could either have assembled mankind, when dispersed, into one place, or have brought them from wild and savage life to the present humane and civilized state of society; or, when cities were established,

have described for them laws, judicial institutions, and rights? And that I may not mention more examples, which are almost without number, I will conclude the subject in one short sentence; for I consider, that by the judgment and wisdom of the perfect orator, not only his own honor, but that of many other individuals, and the welfare of the whole state, are principally upheld.—*Cicero*.

## CHAPTER I.

### EDMUND BURKE'S SPEECH

ON MOVING HIS RESOLUTIONS FOR CONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES.

Delivered in the House of Commons,  
March 22, 1775.

The study and analysis of an oration having action as its end—action to be secured through an appeal to the reason rather than an appeal to the emotions.

1. I hope, Sir, that, notwithstanding the austerity of the Chair, your good nature will incline you to some degree of indulgence toward human frailty. You will not think it unnatural that those who have an object depending which strongly engages their hopes and fears should be somewhat inclined to superstition. As I came into the House, full of anxiety about the event of my motion, I found, to my infinite surprise, that the grand penal bill, by which we had passed sentence on the trade and

sustenance of America, is to be returned to us from the other House. I do confess, I could not help looking on this event as a fortunate omen. I look upon it as a sort of providential favor by which we are put once more in possession of our deliberative capacity, upon a business so very questionable in its nature, so very uncertain in its issue. By the return of this bill, which seemed to have taken its flight forever, we are at this very instant nearly as free to choose a plan for our American government as we were on the first day of the session. If, Sir, we incline to the side of conciliation, we are not at all embarrassed (unless we please to make ourselves so) by any incongruous mixture of coercion and restraint. We are therefore called upon, as it were, by a superior warning voice, again to attend to America; to attend to the whole of it together; and to review the subject with an unusual degree of care and calmness.

2. Surely it is an awful subject; or there is none so on this side of the grave. When I first had the honor of a seat in this



House, the affairs of that continent pressed themselves upon us as the most important and most delicate object of parliamentary attention. My little share in this great deliberation oppressed me. I found myself a partaker in a very high trust; and having no sort of reason to rely on the strength of my natural abilities for the proper execution of that trust, I was obliged to take more than common pains to instruct myself in everything which relates to our colonies. I was not less under the necessity of forming some fixed ideas concerning the general policy of the British Empire. Something of this sort seemed to be indispensable, in order, amidst so vast a fluctuation of passions and opinions, to concenter my thoughts, to ballast my conduct, to preserve me from being blown about by every wind of fashionable doctrine. I really did not think it safe or manly to have fresh principles to seek upon every fresh mail which should arrive from America.

3. At that period I had the fortune to find myself in perfect concurrence with a

large majority in this House. Bowing under that high authority, and penetrated with the sharpness and strength of that early impression, I have continued ever since, without the least deviation, in my original sentiments. Whether this be owing to an obstinate perseverance in error, or to a religious adherence to what appears to me truth and reason, it is in your equity to judge.

4. Sir, Parliament, having an enlarged view of objects, made, during this interval, more frequent changes in their sentiments and their conduct than could be justified in a particular person upon the contracted scale of private information. But though I do not hazard anything approaching to censure on the motives of former parliaments to all those alterations, one fact is undoubted—that under them the state of America has been kept in continual agitation. Everything administered as remedy to the public complaint, if it did not produce, was at least followed by, a heightening of the distemper; until, by a variety of experiments, that important country has

been brought into her present situation—a situation which I will not miscall, which I dare not name; which I scarcely know how to comprehend in the terms of any description.

5. In this posture, Sir, things stood at the beginning of the session. About that time a worthy member of great parliamentary experience, who in the year 1766, filled the chair of the American Committee with much ability, took me aside, and, lamenting the present aspect of our politics, told me, things were come to such a pass that our former methods of proceeding in the House would be no longer tolerated; that the public tribunal (never too indulgent to a long and unsuccessful opposition) would now scrutinize our conduct with unusual severity; that the very vicissitudes and shiftings of ministerial measures, instead of convicting their authors of inconstancy and want of system, would be taken as an occasion of charging us with a predetermined discontent which nothing could satisfy, while we accused every measure of vigor as cruel, and every pro-

posal of lenity as weak and irresolute. The public, he said, would not have patience to see us play the game out with our adversaries: we must produce our hand. It would be expected that those who for many years had been active in such affairs should show that they had formed some clear and decided idea of the principles of colony government; and were capable of drawing out something like a platform of the ground which might be laid for future and permanent tranquillity.

6. I felt the truth of what my honorable friend represented; but I felt my situation, too. His application might have been made with far greater propriety to many other gentlemen. No man was indeed ever better disposed, or worse qualified, for such an undertaking than myself. Though I gave so far in to his opinion that I immediately threw my thoughts into a sort of parliamentary form, I was by no means equally ready to produce them. It generally argues some degree of natural impotence of mind, or some want of knowledge of the world, to hazard plans of govern-

ment except from a seat of authority. Propositions are made, not only ineffectually, but somewhat disreputably, when the minds of men are not properly disposed for their reception; and for my part, I am not ambitious of ridicule; not absolutely a candidate for disgrace.

7. Besides, Sir, to speak the plain truth, I have in general no very exalted opinion of the virtue of paper government, nor of any politics in which the plan is to be wholly separated from the execution. But when I saw that anger and violence prevailed every day more and more, and that things were hastening toward an incurable alienation of our colonies, I confess my caution gave way. I felt this as one of those few moments in which decorum yields to a higher duty. Public calamity is a mighty leveler; and there are occasions when any, even the slightest, chance of doing good must be laid hold on, even by the most inconsiderable person.

8. To restore order and repose to an empire so great and so distracted as ours, is, merely in the attempt, an undertaking

that would ennoble the flights of the highest genius, and obtain pardon for the efforts of the meanest understanding. Struggling a good while with these thoughts, by degrees I felt myself more firm. I derived, at length, some confidence from what in other circumstances usually produces timidity. I grew less anxious, even from the idea of my own insignificance. For, judging of what you are by what you ought to be, I persuaded myself that you would not reject a reasonable proposition because it had nothing but its reason to recommend it. On the other hand, being totally destitute of all shadow of influence, natural or adventitious, I was very sure that, if my proposition were futile or dangerous, if it were weakly conceived, or improperly timed, there was nothing exterior to it, of power to awe, dazzle, or delude you. You will see it just as it is; and you will treat it just as it deserves.

9. The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace

to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in its natural course, and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and (far from a scheme of ruling by discord) to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest which reconciles them to British government.

10. My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion; and ever will be so, as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view, as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say, of no mean force in the gov-

ernment of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendor of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue ribbon. It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace at every instant to keep the peace among them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other, until you knock down the hammer, and determine a proportion of payments beyond all the powers of algebra to equalize and settle.

11. The plan which I shall presume to suggest derives, however, one great advantage from the proposition and registry of that noble lord's project—the idea of con-



ciliation is admissible. First, the House, in accepting the resolution moved by the noble lord, has admitted, notwithstanding the menacing front of our address, notwithstanding our heavy bills of pains and penalties, that we do not think ourselves precluded from all ideas of free grace and bounty.

12. The House has gone further: it has declared conciliation admissible, previous to any submission on the part of America. It has even shot a good deal beyond that mark, and has admitted that the complaints of our former mode of exerting the right of taxation were not wholly unfounded. That right thus exerted is allowed to have had something reprehensible in it, something unwise, or something grievous; since, in the midst of our heat and resentment, we, of ourselves, have proposed a capital alteration; and, in order to get rid of what seemed so very exceptionable, have instituted a mode that is altogether new; one that is, indeed, wholly alien from all the ancient methods and forms of Parliament.

13. The principle of this proceeding is large enough for my purpose. The means proposed by the noble lord for carrying his ideas into execution, I think, indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end; and this I shall endeavor to show you before I sit down. But, for the present, I take my ground on the admitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation; and, where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honor and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear. When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior; and he loses forever that time and those chances, which, as they happen

to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power.

14. The capital leading questions on which you must this day decide are these two: First, whether you ought to concede; and secondly, what your concession ought to be. On the first of these questions we have gained (as I have just taken the liberty of observing to you) some ground. But I am sensible that a good deal more is still to be done. Indeed, Sir, to enable us to determine both on the one and the other of these great questions with a firm and precise judgment, I think it may be necessary to consider distinctly the true nature and the peculiar circumstances of the object which we have before us; because after all our struggle, whether we will or not, we must govern America according to that nature and to those circumstances, and not according to our own imaginations, nor according to abstract ideas of right; by no means according to mere general theories of government, the resort to which appears to me, in our present situation, no better than arrant trifling.

I shall therefore endeavor, with your leave, to lay before you some of the most material of the circumstances in as full and as clear a manner as I am able to state them.

15. The first thing that we have to consider with regard to the nature of the object is, the number of people in the colonies. I have taken for some years a good deal of pains on that point. I can by no calculation justify myself in placing the number below two millions of inhabitants of our own European blood and color, besides at least 500,000 others, who form no inconsiderable part of the strength and opulence of the whole. This, Sir, is, I believe, about the true number. There is no occasion to exaggerate where plain truth is of so much weight and importance. But whether I put the present numbers too high or too low, is a matter of little moment. Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part of the world, that state the numbers as high as we will, while the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. While we are discussing any

given magnitude, they are grown to it. While we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations.

16. I put this consideration of the present and the growing numbers in the front of our deliberation; because, Sir, this consideration will make it evident to a blunter discernment than yours, that no partial, narrow, contracted, pinched, occasional system will be at all suitable to such an object. It will show you, that it is not to be considered as one of those minima which are out of the eye and consideration of the law; not a paltry excrescence of the state; not a mean dependent, who may be neglected with little damage, and provoked with little danger. It will prove that some degree of care and caution is required in the handling such an object; it will show that you ought not, in reason, to trifle with so large a mass of the interests and feel-

ings of the human race. You could at no time do so without guilt; and be assured you will not be able to do it long with impunity.

17. But the population of this country, the great and growing population, though a very important consideration, will lose much of its weight if not combined with other circumstances. The commerce of your colonies is out of all proportion beyond the numbers of the people. This ground of their commerce indeed has been trod some days ago, and with great ability, by a distinguished person, at your bar. This gentleman, after thirty-five years—it is so long since he first appeared at the same place to plead for the commerce of Great Britain—has come again before you to plead the same cause, without any other effect of time, than that to the fire of imagination and extent of erudition which even then marked him as one of the first literary characters of his age, he has added a consummate knowledge in the commercial interest of his country, formed by a long

course of enlightened and discriminating experience.

18. Sir, I should be inexcusable in coming after such a person with any detail, if a great part of the members who now fill the House had not the misfortune to be absent when he appeared at your bar. Besides, Sir, I propose to take the matter at periods of time somewhat different from his. There is, if I mistake not, a point of view from whence, if you will look at this subject, it is impossible that it should not make an impression upon you.

19. I have in my hand two accounts: one a comparative state of the export trade of England to its colonies, as it stood in the year 1704, and as it stood in the year 1772; the other a state of the export trade of this country to its colonies alone, as it stood in 1772, compared with the whole trade of England to all parts of the world (the colonies included) in the year 1704. They are from good vouchers; the latter period from the accounts on your table, the earlier from an original manuscript of Davenant, who first established the inspector-general's

office, which has been ever since his time so abundant a source of parliamentary information.

20. The export trade to the colonies consists of three great branches: the African, which, terminating almost wholly in the colonies, must be put to the account of their commerce; the West Indian; and the North American. All these are so interwoven that the attempt to separate them would tear to pieces the contexture of the whole; and if not entirely destroy, would very much depreciate the value of all the parts. I therefore consider these three denominations to be, what in effect they are, one trade.

21. The trade to the colonies, taken on the export side, at the beginning of this century, that is, in the year 1704, stood thus:—

Exports to North America and the

West Indies .....	£483,265
To Africa .....	86,665

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£569,930



22. In the year 1772, which I take as a middle year between the highest and lowest of those lately laid on your table, the account was as follows:—

To North America and the West	
Indies .....	£4,791,734
To Africa .....	866,398
To which, if you add the export	
trade from Scotland, which	
had in 1704 no existence.....	364,000
<hr/>	
£6,022,132	

23. From five hundred and odd thousand, it has grown to six millions. It has increased no less than twelvefold. This is the state of the colony trade as compared with itself at these two periods within this century; and this is matter for meditation. But this is not all. Examine my second account. See how the export trade to the colonies alone in 1772 stood in the other point of view, that is, as compared to the whole trade of England in 1704.

The whole export trade of Eng-	
land, including that to the col-	
onies, in 1704.....	£6,509,000
Export to the colonies alone in	
1772 .....	6,022,000
	<hr/>
Difference .....	£487,000

24. The trade with America alone is now within less than £500,000 of being equal to what this great commercial nation, England, carried on at the beginning of this century with the whole world! If I had taken the largest year of those on your table, it would rather have exceeded. But, it will be said, is not this American trade an unnatural protuberance, that has drawn the juices from the rest of the body? The reverse. It is the very food that has nourished every other part into its present magnitude. Our general trade has been greatly augmented, and augmented more or less in almost every part to which it ever extended; but with this material difference, that of the six millions which in the beginning of the century constituted

the whole mass of our export commerce, the colony trade was but one-twelfth part: it is now (as a part of sixteen millions) considerably more than a third of the whole. This is the relative proportion of the importance of the colonies at these two periods; and all reasoning concerning our mode of treating them must have this proportion as its basis, or it is a reasoning weak, rotten, and sophistical.

25. Mr. Speaker, I can not prevail on myself to hurry over this great consideration. It is good for us to be here. We stand where we have an immense view of what is, and what is past. Clouds, indeed, and darkness rest upon the future. Let us, however, before we descend from this noble eminence, reflect that this growth of our national prosperity has happened within the short period of the life of man. It has happened within sixty-eight years.

#### ANALYSIS.

Study carefully the first half of the first paragraph to determine what effect it

would have upon the attitude which the presiding officers and the members might take toward Burke and his subject. Analyze the use of the word, "austerity." See if any other word would do as well. Note "deliberative capacity"; study the meaning of the word "capacity." Note in the next line the parallel construction, "So very questionable in its nature, so very uncertain in its issue." The principle is, that ideas of likeness of thought require sameness of form. What is the effect at the end of the paragraph, of using the expression "to attend" twice? Note how the new paragraph is organically connected with the first by the use of the word, "subject."

Paragraph 2. "To concenter my thoughts," would "centre" do as well?

Paragraph 3. In the second line, would the word "agreement" serve as well as the one used—"concurrence"? Note the use of the two terms, "large majority," and "that high authority." Note how the second and third paragraphs are knit together by the expression in the third, "At

that time," pointing back to the expression in the second, "When I first had the honor of a seat in the House."

Paragraph 4. Note how this paragraph is organically related to three and two by the expression, "during this interval." Place this last expression at any other place in the sentence, and study the effect. Is it better where it is? Why the word, "hazard"?

Paragraph 5. Note how five is connected with all going before by the expression, "In this posture." Study the use of the word, "posture." Fix in your mind the idiom, "come to such a pass." Why not "watch," instead of "scrutinize"? Study the words of this paragraph. Are they too long and unusual for the average man?

Paragraph 6. What expression in the first line connects organically this paragraph with the preceding one? Why did he say "parliamentary form"? Note at the end of the paragraph, how the swifter grasp of the thought is secured through omitting the "I am" from the last statement.

Paragraph 7. Note how the "Beside, Sir," links the new paragraph with the preceding one. Continuing in the paragraph realize how the thought is linked further by the expressions, "But when," and further down, "I felt this as one."

Paragraph 8. Be sure to trace the development of thought whereby the first sentence grows out of the thought of the preceding paragraph. Study the word "distracted." Study the words, "adventitious," "futile," "dazzle," "delude." Ask first what they mean; then look them up to test your own thought of their meaning; finally seek synonyms for them. Would any of the synonyms suit in this oration as well as the words used?

With this paragraph the introduction ends. Study the oration thus far very carefully, and ask yourself what the effect upon the House of Commons would be. Has Burke prepared the way so that his speech would receive more favorable attention? Do you feel it is an excellent approach to the argument to follow?

Paragraph 9. Study this paragraph

carefully. It is a process of definition. This method of stating the idea, then telling first what it is not, and afterward telling what it is, is very common to public speech. Grasp how this method of definition makes for clearness. Note the four parallel constructions beginning with, "not." This—parallel construction—is a favorite method of speech. What is its effect? One of keener clearness or greater force?

Paragraph 10. Study how coherence, that is organic connection, is secured between this and the foregoing paragraph, by the first statement. Note the use of the word "parent." Observe how coherence in the paragraph is secured by the phrases, "My plan," "It has nothing," "There is nothing," "It does not," "It does not." Again, study the sentence structure—simple sentences, making it easy to follow the thought.

Paragraph 11. What secures the organic connection between paragraphs ten and eleven? What is the effect of the "however" in the second line? Could this word

be placed elsewhere in the sentence and secure the same effect? Consider the part beginning "notwithstanding" and closing with "pains." Suppose an "and" had been used instead of the second "notwithstanding," what would have been the effect? Note how it would appear:

"Notwithstanding the menacing front of our address, and our heavy bills and penalties." Would not the "and" weaken the effect?

Paragraph 12. Note the logical development: "The House has gone further." Note the idiom: "shot a good deal beyond the mark." Why not "something reprehensible, unwise, or grievous" instead of the way Burke has put it?

Paragraph 13. Observe the organic connective "this proceeding." Study carefully his reasoning in this paragraph. Fix the use of the preposition: "originate from us." Could a simpler word than "magnanimity" have been used?

Paragraph 14. "Precise judgment," examine the force of the adjective. Is anything gained by the use of the adjective in



“arrant trifling”? It will be seen that coherence is obtained between the fourteenth and fifteenth paragraphs by means of the last sentence in fourteen.

Paragraph 15. Further linking of this and the preceding paragraph is secure through the use of the term “nature of the object” which was used in the fourteenth also. Note Burke’s care of statement and his guarding of his statements that they may not fail of their purpose. This care to be thoroughly truthful is not evident in the work of many speakers. Surely nothing is gained by stating other than the truth. Nothing will more surely bring a speaker a following than this strict adherence to truth. When the people learn that a speaker is absolutely reliable in his dealing with facts and situations they will give him not only respect, but will also think twice and most earnestly before they turn away from what he has to say.

Paragraph 16. Study how the thought of this paragraph is knit closely together by employing similar terms and phrases in the sentence structure. Note further how

coherence is obtained in fifteen, sixteen and seventeen by the expressions, "number of people," "the present and the growing numbers," "the population of this country."

Paragraph 17. Note the extent to which the speaker goes to give weight to the testimony of another speaker in the House.

Paragraph 18. This is a transitional paragraph. Occasionally a whole paragraph may be used for this purpose. This paragraph rather strikingly points the fact that Burke took great care to guard everything he said in order to secure the widest and quickest acceptance. Corax, the oldest of the Greek teachers of Oratory, taught that the speaker must avoid offending his audience. He frequently must go farther, and pave the way for the acceptance of his ideas.

Paragraph 19. Again notice his care in stating the sources of his information. When facts, or judgments are given one must not fail to apply to them the tests used to judge the value of authority.

Paragraphs 20, 21, 22, and 23 show how

clearly statistics may be placed before an audience. Note how the speaker points the importance of what he is saying by the statement in 22, "this is matter for meditation."

Paragraph 25. Of what value is the opening statement? Was it said because his hearers seemed to be growing restless, or to indicate the importance of the matter?

## AFFAIRS IN CUBA.

JOHN M. THURSTON.

(From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, March 24, 1898.)

The study and analysis of an oration having action as its end—action secured through an appeal primarily to the emotions rather than to the reason.

1. I am here by command of silent lips to speak once and for all upon the Cuban situation. I shall endeavor to be honest, conservative, and just. I have no purpose to stir the public passion to any action not necessary and imperative to meet the duties and necessities of American responsibility, Christian humanity, and national honor. I would shirk this task if I could, but I dare not. I can not satisfy my conscience except by speaking, and speaking now.

2. I went to Cuba firmly believing that the condition of affairs there had been

greatly exaggerated by the press, and my own efforts were directed in the first instance to the attempted exposure of these supposed exaggerations. There has undoubtedly been much sensationalism in the journalism of the time, but as to the condition of affairs in Cuba there has been no exaggeration, because exaggeration has been impossible.

3. Under the inhuman policy of Weyler not less than 400,000 self-supporting, simple, peaceable, defenseless country people were driven from their homes in the agricultural portions of the Spanish provinces to the cities, and imprisoned upon the barren waste outside the residence portions of these cities and within the lines of intrenchment established a little way beyond. Their humble homes were burned, their fields laid waste, their implements of husbandry destroyed, their live stock and food supplies for the most part confiscated. Most of the people were old men, women, and children. They were thus placed in hopeless imprisonment, without shelter or food. There was no work for them in the

cities to which they were driven. They were left there with nothing to depend upon except the scanty charity of the inhabitants of the cities and with slow starvation their inevitable fate.

4. The pictures in the American newspapers of the starving reconcentrados are true. They can all be duplicated by the thousands. I never saw, and please God I may never again see, so deplorable a sight as the reconcentrados in the suburbs of Matanzas. I can never forget to my dying day the hopeless anguish in their despairing eyes. Huddled about their little bark huts, they raised no voice of appeal to us for alms as we went among them. Their only appeal came from their sad eyes, through which one looks as through an open window into their agonizing souls.

5. The Government of Spain has not and will not appropriate one dollar to save these people. They are now being attended, and nursed, and administered to by the charity of the United States. Think of the spectacle! We are feeding these citizens of Spain; we are nursing their

sick; we are saving such as can be saved, and yet there are those who still say it is right for us to send food, but we must keep hands off. I say that the time has come when muskets must go with the food. We asked the governor if he knew of any relief for these people except through the charity of the United States. He did not. We asked him, "When do you think the time will come that these people can be placed in a position of self-support?" He replied to us, with deep feeling, "Only the good God or the great Government of the United States can answer that question." I hope and believe that the good God by the great Government of the United States will answer that question.

6. I shall refer to these horrible things no further. They are there. God pity me; I have seen them; they will remain in my mind forever; and this is almost the twentieth century. Christ died nineteen hundred years ago, and Spain is a Christian nation. She has set up more crosses in more lands, beneath more skies, and under them has butchered more people than all

the other nations of the earth combined. Europe may tolerate her existence as long as the people of the Old World wish. God grant that before another Christmas morning the last vestige of Spanish tyranny and oppression will have vanished from the Western Hemisphere.

7. I counselled silence and moderation from this floor when the passion of the nation seemed at white heat over the destruction of the Maine; but it seems to me the time for action has now come. No greater reason for it can exist to-morrow than exists to-day. Every hour's delay only adds another chapter to the awful story of misery and death. Only one power can intervene, the United States of America. Ours is the one great nation of the New World, the mother of American republics. She holds a position of trust and responsibility toward the peoples and affairs of the whole Western Hemisphere. It was her glorious example which inspired the patriots of Cuba to raise the flag of liberty in her eternal hills. We cannot refuse to accept this responsibility which the God of the uni-



verse has placed upon us as the one great power in the New World.

8. We must act! What shall our action be? Some say, The acknowledgment of the belligerency of the revolutionists. The hour and the opportunity for that have passed away. Others say, Let us by resolution or official proclamation recognize the independence of the Cubans. It is too late for even such recognition to be of great avail. Others say, Annexation to the United States. God forbid! I would oppose annexation with my latest breath. The people of Cuba are not our people; they cannot assimilate with us; and beyond all that, I am utterly and unalterably opposed to any departure from the declared policy of the fathers, which would start this republic for the first time upon a career of conquest and dominion utterly at variance with the avowed purposes and the manifest destiny of popular government.

9. There is only one action possible, if any is taken; that is, intervention for the independence of the island. Against the intervention of the United States in this

holy cause there is but one voice of dissent; that voice is the voice of the money-changers. They fear war! Not because of any Christian or ennobling sentiment against war and in favor of peace, but because they fear that a declaration of war, or the intervention which might result in war, would have a depressing effect upon the stock market. Let them go. They do not represent American sentiment; they do not represent American patriotism. Let them take their chances as they can. Their weal or woe is of but little importance to the liberty-loving people of the United States. They will not do the fighting; their blood will not flow. They will keep on dealing in options on human life. Let the men whose loyalty is to the dollar stand aside while the men whose loyalty is to the flag, come to the front.

10. There are those who say that the affairs of Cuba are not the affairs of the United States; who insist that we can stand idly by and see that island devastated and depopulated, its business interests destroyed, its commercial intercourse with

us cut off, its people starved, degraded, and enslaved. It may be the naked legal right of the United States to stand thus idly by. I have the legal right to pass along the street and see a helpless dog stamped into the earth under the feet of a ruffian. I can pass by and say, that is not my dog. I can sit in my comfortable parlor, and through my plate-glass window see a fiend outraging a helpless woman near by, and I can legally say, this is no affair of mine—it is not happening on my premises. But if I do, I am a coward and a cur, unfit to live, and, God knows, unfit to die.

11. And yet I cannot protect the dog nor save the woman without the exercise of force. We cannot intervene and save Cuba without the exercise of force, and force means war; war means blood. The lowly Nazarene on the shores of Galilee preached the divine doctrine of love, "Peace on earth, good will toward men." Not peace on earth at the expense of liberty and humanity. Not good will toward men who despoil, enslave, degrade and

starve to death their fellow-men. I believe in the doctrine of Christ. I believe in the doctrine of peace; but men must have liberty before there can come abiding peace. When has a battle for humanity and liberty ever been won except by force? What barricade of wrong, injustice, and oppression has ever been carried except by force?

12. Force compelled the signature of unwilling royalty to the great Magna Charta; force put life into the Declaration of Independence and made effective the Emancipation Proclamation; force waved the flag of revolution over Bunker Hill and marked the snows of Valley Forge with blood-stained feet; force held the broken line at Shiloh, climbed the flame-swept hill at Chattanooga, and stormed the clouds on Lookout Heights; force marched with Sherman to the sea, rode with Sheridan in the Valley of the Shenandoah, and gave Grant victory at Appomattox; force saved the Union, kept the stars in the flag, made "niggers" men. The time for God's force has come again. Let the impassioned lips

of American patriots once more take up the song:

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born  
across the sea,  
With a glory in His bosom that transfig-  
ured you and me.  
As He died to make men holy, let us die to  
make men free,  
For God is marching on.

Others may hesitate, others may procrastinate, others may plead for further diplomatic negotiation, which means delay, but for me, I am ready to act now; and for my action I am ready to answer to my conscience, my country, and my God.

#### ANALYSIS.

The purpose of this speech is to secure action. That of Burke upon Conciliation was also given to secure action. Compare very carefully the method of each. Make particular note of the difference in the manner of opening the speech. You will

see in each, though, the effort to let the audience know that there will be a strict adherence to truth and principle. There is to be no supplanting of reason by passion.

Paragraph 1. By "silent lips" is meant those of his wife who had died a short time before the making of the address. Measure the strength given to his opening words "honest," "conservative," "just," "duties," "responsibilities," "humanity," "honor." Memorize this opening paragraph and speak it, getting first into the spirit of it. Try to give it the strength, steadiness, and reasonableness which it demands.

Paragraph 2. When one is compelled after careful examination first hand to change his judgment of things, respect must be given to his new judgment.

Paragraph 3. This and four satisfy the statement that conditions cannot be exaggerated. What is the effect of the descriptive terms, "self-supporting, simple, peaceable, defenseless"? They give information, but is that the sole purpose? "Their humble homes were burned, etc." Note

the cumulation of facts: force through mass. "Old men, women and children"—would it have been weaker to say, "Children, women and old men"? If so, why?

Paragraph 4. Note the securing of coherence between three and four by use of terms, "starvation," and "starving reconcentrados." What effect is intended by this paragraph?

Paragraph 5. How naturally follows this first sentence. The speaker has created an impression in the heart of the listener that these people ought to be saved. Only the inhuman would refuse to save them. That Spain will not save them comes as a terrible shock. Is not his leading up to the demands for arms practically unanswerable?

Paragraph 6. What is the effect of restating the terrible condition of affairs after stating that he will not mention them further? Note that very quick turn of thought in: "And this is almost the twentieth century." Study his method carefully from this point to the end of the paragraph. At the end he makes his first real

demand for action, and it comes after there has been an exceedingly strong appeal to the feelings. "High actions through and by high passions," says Choate.

Paragraph 7. He himself has just made an appeal to passion, yet here he tells us that he counselled silence and moderation at another time. Is his appeal to passion now any more justified than the appeal to passion would have been in the former instance? Are his facts upon which he bases his appeal to passion any more reliable? Is his argument relative to our responsibility well taken?

Paragraph 8. Note the coherence secured between this and the preceding paragraph by the first statement. It also carries a strong emotional effect. Make careful comparison of the eighth and ninth paragraphs with Burke's method. His appeal is primarily to the intellect. Thurston's appeal is primarily to the emotions. Thurston said that he would be conservative and just. Is he actually either in his appeal and argument in the ninth? Prac-



tically no fault may be found with this method, but is strict justice done?

Paragraph 10. Note the principle involved in his illustration of the dog and the woman. One is seeking to get another to act in a given way, the work will be easier if it can be shown that in other matters the individual has acted upon the very principle upon which action is now sought.

Paragraph 11. Observe that the topic for the eleventh paragraph is the conclusion to the tenth paragraph. Would it have been better to put the opening statement of this paragraph as the closing statement of the tenth? The swiftness with which he turns his illustration to account in applying it to the Cuban situation makes for great force. There is a fine bit of work done in anticipating the argument that might be in the minds of some, and answering it,—namely that war is not justified by Christianity. This anticipating opposing argument in the minds of hearers and answering it is one of the marks of really effective argumentation. The skillful speaker will always need to know what arguments

may be brought against his own propositions, and be ready to answer them. Study also the effect of the short sentences and statements. What is gained by them? It may be put down as one of the characteristics of oral composition, that it uses simpler and shorter sentences than does written composition, that is, than does the essay.—Observe, too, that several of the statements are not complete sentence structures. There is no lack of clearness, for the mind instantly supplies, without effort, the parts omitted. This is called ellipsis. The omission of sentence elements that may easily be supplied by the hearer is another mark of the oration.—How much stronger the questions at the end of the paragraph are, than the direct statements of the same idea would have been.—As you read orations and speeches make a study of the manner in which interrogative sentences are used.

Paragraph 12. This paragraph answers the question which has been asked in eleven. The word “force” is used six times. Note the cumulation of power with

the cumulation of facts and the repetition of the same term. Here again we find a particular device of speech. The same word or phrase is frequently repeated in order to cumulate force. It becomes the emphatic element.—What do you think of the effectiveness of the quotation of poetry? Would it have been better to stop with the quotation, or has greater effectiveness been secured by the speaker's last statement? Weigh the matter carefully.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HEROISM OF THE UNKNOWN.

The study and analysis of an oration having impressiveness as its end, an illustration of atmosphere.

First. Thirty years ago to-day, these peaceful scenes were echoing with the roar and din of what a calm and unimpassioned historian, writing of it long years afterward, described as the "greatest battlefield of the New World." Thirty years ago to-day the hearts of some thirty millions of people turned to this spot with various but eager emotions, and watched here the crash of two armies which gathered in their vast embrace the flower of a great people. Never, declared the seasoned soldiers who listened to the roar of the enemy's artillery, had they heard anything that was comparable with it. Now and then it paused, as though the very throats of the mighty guns were tired; but only for a little. Not for one day, nor for two, but for three, raged the awful con-

flict, while the Republic gave its best life to redeem its honor, and the stain of all previous blundering and faltering was washed white forever with the blood of its patriots and martyrs.

Second. How far away it all seems, as we stand here to-day! How profound the contrast between those hours and days of bloodshed and the still serenity of nature as it greets us now! The graves that cluster around us here, the peaceful resting-places of a nation's heroes, are green and fair; and, within them, they who fell here, after life's fierce and fitful fever, are sleeping well.

Third. In their honor we come here, my brothers, to consecrate this monumental shaft. What, now, is that one feature in this occasion which lends to it its supreme and most pathetic interest? There are other monuments in this city of a nation's dead, distinguished as these graves that lie about us here can never be. There are the tombs and memorials of heroes whose names are blazoned upon them, and whose kindred and friends, as they have stood

round them, have repeopled this scene with their vanished forms, have recalled their lineaments, have recited their deeds, and have stood in tender homage around forms which were once to them a living joy and presence. But for us to-day there is no such privilege, no such tender individuality of grief. These are our unknown dead.

Fourth. And so, as we come here to-day and plant this column, consecrating it to its enduring dignity and honor as the memorial of our unknown dead, we are doing, as I cannot but think, the fittest possible deed that we could do. These unknown that lie about us here—ah, what are they but the peerless representatives, elect forever by the deadly gage of battle, of those sixty millions of people, as to-day they are, whose rights and liberties they achieved! Unknown to us are their names; unknown to them were the greatness and the glory of their deeds! And is not this, the story of the world's best manhood, and of its best achievement?

Fifth. The work by the great unknown, for the great unknown—the work that, by

fidelity in the ranks, courage in the trenches, obedience to the voice of command, patience at the picket-line, vigilance at the outpost, is done by that great host that bear no splendid insignia of rank, and figure in no commander's dispatches—this work, with its largest and incalculable and unforeseen consequences for a whole people—is not this work, which we are here to-day to commemorate, at once the noblest and most vast? Who can tell us now the names, even, of those that sleep about us here; and who of them could guess, on that eventful day when here they gave their lives for duty and their country, how great and how far-reaching would be the victory they should win?

Sixth. And thus we learn, my brothers, where a nation's strength resides. When the German emperor, after the Franco-Prussian war was crowned in the Salles des Glaces at Versailles, on the ceiling of the great hall in which that memorable ceremony took place there were inscribed the words: "The King Rules by His Own Authority." "Not so," said that grand

man of blood and iron who, most of all, had welded Germany into one mighty people—"not so: 'The kings of the earth shall rule under me, saith the Lord.' Trusting in the tried love of the whole people, we leave the country's future in God's hands!" Ah, my countrymen, it is not this man or that man that saved our Republic in its hour of supreme peril. Let us not, indeed, forget her great leaders, great generals, great statesmen, and, greatest among them all, her great martyr and President, Lincoln.

Seventh. But there was no one of these then who would not have told us that which we may all see so plainly now, that it was not they who saved the country, but the host of her great unknown. These, with their steadfast loyalty, these with their cheerful sacrifices, and these, most of all with their simple faith in God and in the triumph of His right—these they were who saved us! Let us never cease to honor them and to trust them; and let us see to it that neither we nor they shall ever cease



to trust in that overarching Providence that all along has led them.

Eighth. It was God in the people that made the heroism which, in these unknown ones, we are here to-day to honor. It must forever be God in and with the people that shall make the nation great and wise and strong for any great emergency.

In that faith, we come here to rear this monument and to lay the tribute of our love and gratitude upon these graves. May no alien or vandal hand ever profane their grand repose who slumber here! And when the sons of freedom, now unborn, through generations to come shall gather here to sing again the praises of these unknown martyrs for the flag, may they kneel down beside these graves and swear anew allegiance to their God, their country, and the right!

From Bishop Potter's oration on "Heroism of the Unknown," as published in "The Scholar and the State," by permission of the Century Co.

#### ANALYSIS.

The purpose of this speech by Bishop Potter is that of creating feeling—impres-

siveness. It is a memorial address. If the speaker has succeeded in his intention his audience will go away with a stronger and a deeper sense of patriotism. Study carefully the process whereby there is developed the spirit of patriotism. Sense thoroughly the atmosphere developed by such words as "roar and din," "crash," "roar," "raged." Study the contrasting words in the first sentence. Meditate upon the sentence until you feel the force of each important word, then speak it, experiencing the idea each strong word stands for. See that the voice expresses in sound the thought of "peaceful," "roar and din," "calm and unimpassioned," "greatest battlefield of the New World."—Suppose the first part of the last sentence had been written, "The awful conflict raged not for one day, nor for two, but for three," what would the effect have been? It would have been a much weaker sentence. This first part of the sentence is an example of inversion, that is, the ideas are not expressed in their normal order, subject with its modifiers, then verb

with its modifiers. This is another favorite device of the speaker. Study it carefully, for it makes for both clearness and force. It compels closer attention on the part of the hearer. Note again: Suppose it had been written this way: "For three days raged the awful conflict." Is the briefer form less strong than the longer? It surely is. While the rhetoric of oral composition demands the briefer form when possible, it will be observed that often greater force comes through the longer form, or the increase of words. Make a careful study of these two points in all your reading of speeches. They are distinctive.

Paragraph 2. The speaker creates here just as strong an atmosphere of peace as of din in the first paragraph. Hear the two paragraphs delivered orally and note how each is more forceful in its atmosphere because of the other. The law of contrast is found in all art, and oratory uses it frequently.

Paragraph 3. How is coherence secured in these two paragraphs? Is the question

more effective than the direct statement would have been? Observe how the things about him suggest the method of his speech. Note the parallelism of form.—“Lineaments,” could a simpler word have been used?

Paragraph 4. Organic connection is secured through the word, “unknown.” Study further how the speaker continues to use the “unknown” to develop his thought. This word links also five and four.

Paragraph 5. Note the parallelism and cumulation in this paragraph. Observe how the author keeps the subject before his audience by the repetition of the word, “work.”

Paragraph 6. Study the actual value of the illustration in the anecdote of the German Emperor. “Ah, my countrymen,” would you expect to find this expression or any similar one, in the pure essay style? Does this whole oration show a strong personal touch? Does the speaker speak at the audience or talk with it?

Paragraph 7. What is the antecedent of

“these”? Note the use of “these” to secure coherence.

Paragraph 8. Note the connection of eight with seven through “God—Providence.” “In that faith,” the antecedent of “that faith” is the thought of the sentence preceding. In securing coherence the wisest method is to make a word, or phrase the antecedent of the pronoun.

Finally, study the simplicity of the speech, and the sentence structure. A number of the sentences are long, but they are not complex and involved. Another point of interest lies in the fact that few long words have been used.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

The study and analysis of an oration having impressiveness as its end, with appeals also to belief and action.

1. There is no historic figure more noble than that of the Jewish lawgiver. After so many thousand years, the figure of Moses is not diminished, but stands up against the background of early days distinct and individual as if he had lived but yesterday. There is scarcely another event in history more touching than his death. He had borne the great burdens of state for forty years, shaped the Jews to a nation, administered their laws, dealt with them in all their journeyings in the wilderness; had mourned in their punishment, kept step with their march, and led them in wars until the end of their labors drew nigh. The last stage was reached. Jordan, only, lay between them and "the

Promised Land." The Promised Land! O, what yearnings had heaved his breast for that divinely foreshadowed place! All his long, laborious, and now weary life, he had aimed at this as the consummation of every desire, the reward of every toil and pain. Then came the word of the Lord to him, "Thou mayest not go over. Get thee up into the mountain; look upon it; and die!"

2. From that silent summit the hoary leader gazed to the north, to the south, to the west, with hungry eyes. The dim outlines rose up. The hazy recesses spoke of quiet valleys between hills. With eager longing, with sad resignation, he looked upon the Promised Land. It was now to him a forbidden land. This was but a moment's anguish, he forgot all his personal wants, and drank in the vision of his people's home. His work was done. There lay God's promise fulfilled. Joy chased sadness from every feature, and the prophet laid him down and died.

3. Again a great leader of the people has passed through toil, sorrow, battle,

and war, and come near to the promised land of peace, into which he might not pass over. Who shall recount our martyr's offerings for this people! Since the November of 1860, his horizon has been black with storms. By day and by night he trod the way of danger and darkness. On his shoulders rested a government dearer to him than his own life. At its integrity millions of men at home were striking: upon the foreign eyes lowered. It stood like a lone island in a sea full of storms; and every tide and wave seemed eager to devour it. Upon thousands of hearts great sorrows and anxieties have rested, but not on one, such, and in such measure, as upon that simple, truthful, noble soul, our faithful and sainted Lincoln. He wrestled ceaselessly, through four black and dreadful purgatorial years, wherein God was cleansing the sins of his people as by fire.

4. At last the watcher beheld the gray dawn for the country. The mountains began to give forth their forms from out of the darkness; and the East came rushing toward us with arms full of joy for all our



sorrows. Then it was for him to be glad exceedingly, that had sorrowed immeasurably. Peace could bring to no other heart such joy, such rest, such honor, such trust, such gratitude. But he looked upon it as Moses looked upon the Promised Land. Then the wail of a nation proclaimed that he had gone from among us.

5. Never did two such orbs of experience meet in one hemisphere, as the joy and the sorrow of the same week in this land. The joy of final victory was as sudden as if no man had expected it, and as entrancing as if it had fallen a sphere from heaven. It rose up over sobriety, and swept business from its moorings, and ran down through the land in irresistible course. Men embraced each other in brotherhood that were strangers in the flesh. They sang, or prayed, or, deeper yet, many could only think thanksgiving and weep gladness. That peace was sure; that our government was firmer than ever; that the land was cleansed of plague; that the blood was stanchd and scowling enmities were sinking like storms beneath the horizon;

that the dear fatherland, nothing lost, much gained, was to rise up in unexampled honor among the nations of the earth,—all these kindled up such a surge of joy as no words may describe.

6. In one hour, under the blow of a single bereavement, joy lay without a pulse, without a gleam or breath. A sorrow came that swept through the land as huge storms sweep through the forest and field, rolling thunder along the sky, disheveling the flowers, daunting every singer in thicket or forest, and pouring blackness and darkness across the land and upon the mountains. Did ever so many hearts, in so brief a time, touch two such boundless feelings? It was the uttermost of joy—it was the uttermost of sorrow;—noon and midnight without a space between!

7. The blow brought not a sharp pang. It was so terrible that at first it stunned sensibility. Citizens were like men awakened at midnight by an earthquake, and bewildered to find everything that they were accustomed to trust wavering and falling. They wandered in the streets as if

groping after some impending dread, or undeveloped sorrow. There was a piteous helplessness. Strong men bowed down and wept. Other and common griefs belonged to some one in chief; this belonged to all. It was each and every man's. Every virtuous household in the land felt as if its firstborn were gone. Men were bereaved, and walked for days as if a corpse lay unburied in their dwellings. There was nothing else to think of. They could speak of nothing but that; and yet, of that they could speak only falteringly.

8. All business was laid aside. Pleasure forgot to smile. The great city for nearly a week ceased to roar. The huge Leviathan lay down and was still. Even avarice stood still, and greed was strangely moved to generous sympathy and universal sorrow. Rear to his name monuments, found charitable institutions, and write his name above their lintels; but no monument will ever equal the universal, spontaneous, and sublime sorrow that in a moment swept down lines and parties, covered up animosities, and in an hour brought a divided

people into unity of grief and indivisible fellowship of anguish.

9. This blow was aimed at the life of the government and of the nation. Lincoln was slain; America was meant. The man was cast down; the government was smitten at. It was the President who was killed, it was national life, breathing freedom and meaning beneficence, that was sought. He, the man of Illinois, the private man, divested of robes and the insignia of authority, representing nothing but his personal self, might have been hated; but that would not have called forth the murderer's blow. It was because he stood in the place of government, representing government and a government that represented right and liberty, that he was singled out.

10. The blow, however, had signally failed. The cause is not stricken; it is strengthened. This nation has dissolved—but in tears only. It stands, four-square, more solid, to-day, than any pyramid in Egypt. This people are neither wasted, nor daunted, nor disordered. Men hate slavery and love liberty with stronger hate

and love to-day than ever before. Even he who now sleeps has, by this event, been clothed with new influence. Dead, he speaks to men who now willingly hear what before they refused to listen to. Now, his simple and weighty words will be gathered like those of Washington, and your children and your children's children shall be taught to ponder the simplicity and deep wisdom of utterances which, in their time, passed, in the party heat, as idle words. Men will receive a new impulse of patriotism for his sake, and will guard with zeal the whole country which he loved so well.

11. You I can comfort; but how can I speak to that twilight million to whom his name was as the name of an angel of God? There will be wailing in places which no ministers shall be able to reach. When in hovel and in cot, in wood and in wilderness, in the field throughout the South, the dusky children, who looked upon him as that Moses whom God sent before them to lead them out of the land of bondage, learn that he has fallen, who shall comfort them? Oh, thou Shepherd of Israel, that didst

comfort thy people of old, to thy care we commit the helpless, the long wronged and grieved!

12. And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and states are his pall-bearers, and the cannon beats the hours with solemn progression. Dead—dead—dead—he yet speaketh! Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is David dead? Is any man dead that ever was fit to live? Disenthralled of flesh, and risen to the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life now is grafted upon the Infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome! Your sorrows, O people, are his peace! Your bells and bands, and muffled drums sound triumph in his ear. Wail and weep here; God makes it echo joy and triumph there. Pass on, thou victor!

13. Four years ago, O Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man, and from among the people; we return him to you a

mighty conqueror. Not thine any more, but the nation's; not ours, but the world's. Give him place, ye prairies! In the midst of this great continent his dust shall rest, a sacred treasure to myriads who shall make pilgrimage to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds, that move over the mighty places of the West, chant his requiem! Ye people, behold a martyr, whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty!

#### ANALYSIS.

This is another memorial address, but of a very different nature from that by Bishop Potter. The pointing of truth, facts, and the presence of argument make this different. When studying this oration it will be well to remember that Mr. Beecher was a close friend to Mr. Lincoln. Outside of his official family Lincoln trusted few men as he did Beecher. Beecher was sent to England to make a number of addresses that the English might

be thoroughly and reliably informed of the attitude and purpose of the Northern government. Beecher succeeded in turning an almost hostile sentiment to one of support of the Northern cause. This speech was delivered very soon after Lincoln's assassination.

The student will recognize the added power gained by the comparison which Beecher makes between Moses and Lincoln. The inventive ability needs to be called into use as much in building a speech as in making a machine.

Paragraph 1. "He had borne the great burdens of state for forty years," etc., note the cumulation and parallelism here. "The Promised Land!" The exclamation is another device peculiar to oratory. The utterance of the exclamation presupposes a large background of thought and emotion. It is this background which gives the intense power to the exclamation. All that the Promised Land means must be borne in mind if the voice is to give any power to the exclamation.

Paragraph 2. At the end of the para-



graph, study the last sentence. Observe its balance. "Joy chased sadness from every feature," is finely balanced by "the prophet laid him down and died." Is the use of "chased" a wise one?

Paragraph 3. In this paragraph an intense emotional color is obtained by choice of forceful words, striking comparisons and figures of speech. Note particularly the last sentence. Beecher speaks in metaphor. He speaks of one idea in terms of another. It will be well to make more than an ordinary study of all passages that are not literal in their nature. A figurative passage may be used for either force or clearness. Its value lies in the fact that it forces home the thought by likening it to something better known.

Paragraph 4. This paragraph opens with a figure of speech. Is the result greater force or an aid to clearness? Note the next figure of speech: "the East came rushing toward us." This is personification; the giving of characteristics of personality to inanimate objects, or elements. The idea Beecher wishes to convey is

surely expressed with marked vividness by his figure.—Note the balance in the sentence: “Then it was for him to be glad, etc.”

Paragraph 5. Note the metaphor in the first sentence. What is an orb? What an intensification of the idea he secures through this metaphor!—Note the climax in the sentence, “It rose up, etc.”—Study the cumulation at the last half. Observe that after all the elements have been mentioned, he binds them together with the expression, “all these.”

Paragraph 6. Examine the first sentence. At the end it contains a rather unusual example of climax.—Note the climax in the succeeding sentence. Study the balance structure in the last sentence.

Paragraph 7. Coherence is obtained by use of the word “blow” which was used in the opening sentence of the preceding paragraph.—Study the simile: “like men awakened at midnight by an earthquake.” Be sure to note that the sentences of this paragraph are not only short, but normal in type: subject, predicate, object. Ob-

serve the simplicity that is gained thereby.

Paragraph 8. This paragraph continues the development of the thought in seven. There is a continued use of the same type of sentences. Examine carefully how he summarizes and emphatically points his idea in the sentence beginning "Rear to his name, etc." Take note of the development toward climax at the end of the sentence.

Paragraph 9. Study this paragraph carefully. Note the use of the word "blow" again at the opening of this and also the succeeding paragraph. Vividly does this repetition of the word keep before us the idea he is talking about. Observe, beginning with the second sentence, the three sentences of parallel construction, and further observe that they are balanced sentences also. Examine the sentence beginning, "He the man of Illinois,"—it is a suspended sentence. This sentence suspends the main idea until the end of the sentence is reached. The last sentence in the paragraph is also suspended. This

type of sentence compels close attention on the part of the hearer.

Paragraph 10. Study the balance in the second and third sentences. Suppose the sixth sentence had been written: "Men hate slavery and love liberty more today than ever before." Why is the other sentence stronger?

Paragraph 11. "When in hovel and in cot, etc." Does the enumeration in this sentence add to the effectiveness? Why, if so?

Paragraph 12. Lincoln's body was being taken back to Illinois. "Cities and states are his pall-bearers." Is it an effective figure of speech?—Make sure to get the principle underlying the making of the sentence: "Dead—dead—dead—he yet speaketh!"—Study the power which comes from the rapidity of the next few sentences.—Study the suspended sentence beginning, "Disenthralled." It is an excellent example of this kind of a sentence. By this means one is permitted to get the subordinate details out of the way first, so that at the end the entire attention may be cen-

tered upon the main idea. Study the series of exclamatory sentences.

Paragraph 13. "O Illinois," direct address frequent in oral English.—"Not thine, anymore, but the nation's; not ours, but the world's." Study the balance through the contrast; the ellipsis of the sentences; and the parallel structure.—Observe the personification used, and also another example of direct address.

The study of this oration over and over again will amply repay the student. It is thoroughly oratorical in style, and shows many of the devices which public speech is prone to use. Make an outline of the structure of the speech. Compare the short sentences with the long and see if you can arrive at any principle underlying the use of each. Compare simple sentences with the suspended sentence and note the reason for each kind. Are there any really involved sentences? Are there any unusual words? How many of the words used in the speech can you clearly define if you had to without resort to the dictionary. Imagine a foreigner should ask you to explain to him

many of the words, how would you go about it? Suppose this foreigner knew nothing of the process of grafting one plant upon another. How would you make the statement: "His life is now grafted upon the Infinite," clear to him? This is an exceedingly profitable exercise. Seek other phrases in the speech for use in a similar way.

## CHAPTER III.

### PATRIOTISM.

*Page 77 in Selected Speeches for Practice.*

The study and analysis of an oration having as its main end clearness, with both belief and action as minor ends.

This address was delivered before a body of students upon their graduation from college. Before you study the analysis of the speech think carefully of the occasion and the nature of the audience. Is the address well adapted to each? The first four paragraphs are introductory; do they make a skillful approach to the main discussion?

Examine again the principle used here: that of impressing a fact not so well understood, or so thoroughly remembered, by likening it to a very common fact of life. The more common the fact, and the more well known, used in making such a

comparison, the greater the force of the comparison.

Note that in three the speaker takes the time to show in detail the points in the analogy. There must always be a careful consideration of the question whether it is well to end with the general statement, or better to set forth the details which the general statement implies.

The questions in three and four establish a personal relationship between the speaker and his hearers. It will be necessary, however, to avoid the interrogation in places where the direct assertion is the more effective.

Observe the beautiful balance which is obtained in the first and second sentence in three. Study these two sentences to get their thought values, both stated and suggested; feel the mood of them, and give them orally. You will find much beauty of vocal form in them.

Make a particular study of the words used in the first three paragraphs. They are chosen with a fine discrimination. It will be profitable to trace the logical de-



velopment of the thought, and the methods used to secure coherence—organic connection of sentences and paragraphs.

It will be seen that in the fifth paragraph the author continues the personal relation by the use of the pronoun "us." It is often the case that a speaker will address an audience as "you" and continue to use this pronoun throughout the speech. What is the subtle psychological effect of each word? Suppose you are in an audience and a speaker should say to you all: "You should believe at least as much in the goodness of God as you do in the dexterity of the devil." How would it appeal to you? Hear it said the author's way: "Let us believe at least as much in the goodness of God as we undoubtedly do in the dexterity of the devil." Compare the effect of the two. An audience does not like to be talked down to.

Take special note of the structure of the last sentence in five. It is an excellent example of the suspended sentence. It is a very effective sentence.

Paragraph 6. Note the use of the word "law" in this paragraph.

Paragraph 10. Note how the speaker proceeds from patriotism in general to that in particular which touches the individual. This is the principle, that after the general truth has been mentioned it is nearly always wise to follow with the particular truth. Note how coherence and compactness are brought about by the parallel constructions each beginning with a "that." One follows such structure very easily.

Paragraph 11. Can you find any connective to connect ten and eleven? Is there any suggested thought that secures the connection? Observe the arrangement of the sentence in the last part of the paragraph. Ideas are brought as close together as possible. "Affect us as men. We are born men," this arrangement at the same time brings the word "law" which is to be the connective between this and the next paragraph at the very end of the sentence and paragraph. This is a fine bit of sentence building.

Paragraph 12. In this paragraph parallelism is the device used to secure proper relationship; the same device is used also in the next paragraph. You have by this time come to the conclusion that it is a very common device. It will be found more frequently, probably, than any other oratorical method. Attention is called also to the summary at the end of the paragraph. Summarizing sentences are a great aid to clearness. There is a summarizing sentence at the end of the next paragraph. Note parallelism again in this paragraph. Be sure to note the added life, vitality and incisiveness that is obtained by the personification used here. The short statements also do much to give greater force to the thought.

Paragraph 15. How many lines are there before you reach the connecting link between this and the preceding paragraph? This first sentence is fairly long, yet it is easily followed because of its suspended form. Memorize this interrogation at the end. It is that kind which carries the answer with it. Speak it and see if the vocal

form suggests the kind of answer desired by the speaker.

Paragraph 16. In the first sentence give attention to the repetition of words, and the elimination of "and" before the second "without." Note a different construction: "Remember that the greatness of our country is not in its achievement, but in its promise, which cannot be fulfilled without that sovereign moral sense and a sensitive national conscience." Compare the two, observing how the former is not only easier to understand, but is more exact and precise in statement.—"That sovereign moral sense," linking this with what has both been said and suggested heretofore. "Commercial success tends to make us all cowards," and "Commercial prosperity is only a curse if it be not subservient to intellectual and moral progress." These two sentences are epigrammatic in nature. Public speech frequently does this: crowds a great truth into a very small compass of words. Note the balance: "now to good God, now to good Devil," without the "and."

Paragraph 17. Where is the organic connection between this and the foregoing paragraph? Observe the suspense of the second sentence. Find another epigrammatic statement. Make study of the interrogation at the end. Memorize the sentence and feel strongly the answer that you would have the audience feel, and then speak it. Let the mind be intensely busy with thinking with great earnestness the thought and the answer as you speak it.

Paragraph 18. Note the "Why." If you will observe conversation you will see that frequently this word is used when it has no real significance. Is it justified here? Would you have a comma or an exclamation point after it?

Paragraph 19. The first sentence is a link sentence between the general thought preceding and the new field of thought he is now to bring to his audience. It is an answer to the thought which he anticipates some are thinking as a result of what he has already said. Let this principle be stated again: it is frequently not only wise, but often necessary that a speaker foresee

what thought an audience may be engaged in, and by proper guiding statements keep the thought from running to the wrong conclusion. Observe that he continues the practice of repeating certain elements that he may make it all the easier for his audience to follow him and to think of the more important phases of the thought. Study the method of the last sentence.

## THE MUCK-RAKER.

JULIUS KAHN,

Congressman from California.

Extract from a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 26, 1910.

The study and analysis of an oration having the arousing of feelings as its end. It is an oration of protest. Compare carefully this oration with the one on "Patriotism."

On the 14th of April, 1906, upon the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the new office building of the House of Representatives, President Roosevelt said:

"In 'Pilgrim's Progress' the man with the muck-rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of on spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who, in this life, consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. . . .

The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium on knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth."

In this connection I am reminded of an incident that occurred in the city of Sacramento, in 1895, during a session of the California legislature. Major Frank McLaughlin, a well-known citizen of our state, was at the capital attending to some matters pending before the legislature. One morning there appeared in one of the San Francisco newspapers an article which reflected somewhat upon the good name and character of an estimable citizen of Oakland, California, wherein it was charged that he was gathering a corruption fund in order that he might be able to go to the Capitol and defeat certain bills that were then being considered by the committees of the legislature. Indignant at the attack, this citizen wired to Major McLaughlin as follows:



“Brand the article in this morning’s paper false as hell! Such tactics will act as a boomerang. I am coming up this evening.”

Whereupon Major McLaughlin promptly wired back:

“I have looked all over Sacramento, but I cannot find a ‘false as hell’ branding iron. I would like to help you propel the boomerang, but I do not know just in which direction to throw it. Keep frappé, old man! To-day’s newspapers are lost in starting to-morrow’s fires.

“ ‘You may fool all of the people some of the time; you may fool some of the people all of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.’ ”

The immortal Lincoln! What a world of emotion that name conjures up! No wonder all his biographers speak of the sad expression of his countenance. Was ever mortal man so vilified, so abused, so traduced, so defamed as he was in his lifetime? He was ridiculed, reviled, and lampooned as no other man in our country’s history. Gibes and jeers and sneers were

his daily portion in the newspapers of this country, and even in some that were published abroad, during the whole Civil War. "The baboon at the other end of the avenue" and "That damned idiot in the White House" were some of the expletives applied to him by the muck-rakers of his day.

Mr. Lincoln was so outraged by the obloquies, so stung by the disparagements, his existence was rendered so unhappy, that his life became almost a burden to him. Lamon, his lifelong friend, says that one day he went to the President's office and found him lying on the sofa, greatly distressed. Jumping to his feet, he said:

"You know, Lamon, better than any living man that from boyhood up my ambition was to be President; but look at me. I wish I had never been born! I had rather be dead than as President be thus abused in the house of my friends."

One delegate at Chicago declared that for less offenses than Mr. Lincoln had been guilty of the English people had chopped off the head of the first Charles. Another arose and asserted that

“Ever since that usurper, traitor, and tyrant has occupied the presidential chair the party has shouted, ‘War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt!’ Blood has flowed in torrents, and yet the thirst of the old monster is not quenched. His cry is for more blood.”

But why continue the recital of the calumnies, the insinuations, the half-truths, and the downright lies that were printed in abuse of the Great Emancipator? The muck-rakers who made his life miserable are nearly all rotting in forgotten graves. But the name of Lincoln will shine resplendent through all the ages. As long as the universe shall endure he will tower, giant-like, above the mere pygmies that hurled their scurrility at him, and the story of his life will prove an inspiration to millions of Americans in the generations yet to come.

Mr. Chairman, I could speak at great length of the abusive attacks that have appeared in the newspapers and the magazines of this country against Grant, and Garfield, and Cleveland, and McKinley,

aye, and against Theodore Roosevelt. They had their detractors, their defamers. But their fame rests secure in the hearts of their countrymen. And while they all undoubtedly felt the injustice of the poignant shafts of abuse that were hurled against them by the muck-rakers of their respective periods, who to-day cares or even half-way remembers what was the nature or the character of the malicious onslaughts?

And so, my colleagues, we, too, can draw this moral from the lessons taught us by that fact: "To-day's newspapers are lost in starting to-morrow's fires."

### ANALYSIS.

It is a very usual device that is illustrated here—that of opening a speech with a quotation or an anecdote. In this example would it not have been better to have opened with the anecdote rather than the quotation? Turn to the close of the extract and ascertain if the last sentence states the idea developed in the entire extract. Does this throw any light upon the

question whether the quotation or the anecdote should be given first? Consider the paragraph beginning, "The immortal Lincoln!" Is its beginning rather abrupt? Will the quotation preceding be remembered by a large enough number, so that they will make the connection readily between it and the introduction of Lincoln's name?

Does not the paragraph beginning, "Mr. Lincoln was so outraged," come between matters that should have been brought closer together? Why not mass in one series all the examples of abuse instead of dividing them by this paragraph? Think it over carefully and see if you cannot arrange the whole so that there will be a closer and more clearly related order. Deliver the two versions and judge which secures the stronger effect. You may have to make some few changes in the wording as you rearrange.

## THE TRUE FAST.

The study and analysis of an oration having the two ends of belief and action strongly present. Make a careful comparison of this oration with the two preceding.

1. Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto my people their transgression, and to the house of Jacob their sins. Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways; as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God, they ask of me righteous ordinances, they delight to draw near unto God. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find your own pleasure, and exact all your labors. Behold, ye fast for strife and contention, and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye fast not this day so as to make your voice to be heard on high.

2. Is such the fast that I have chosen?

the day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

3. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy healing shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and He shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking wickedly; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy

light rise in darkness, and thine obscurity be as the noonday; and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in dry places, and make strong thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.—*Isaiah 58.*

#### ANALYSIS.

Study carefully this short oration. Analyze the sentence structure. Study the choice of words. Observe how short the thought units are. The compactness is remarkable,—not a word could be left out, and not a word but has a vital part to play in the development of the effect desired. Do not fail to observe how the fault of monotony is avoided by grouping two or more questions within one interrogation point. Is this grouping natural and logical, or arbitrary? Would monotony be avoided by arbitrary grouping?

Much will be gained by the memorization and the delivery of this speech. Let the delivery be practiced in two ways. It will



be noted that the speech begins with a mood of stern rebuke. Let the first drill be upon continuing this mood of stern accusation and rebuke throughout the entire speech. When you practice it the next time, let your spirit or mood change gradually, beginning with the second division, from rebuke to earnest, kind persuasion. When you are speaking of the rewards to come from proper living, let there be much inspiration and enthusiasm put into the spirit of the delivery.

Compare this speech with that of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, in the Volume of Speeches for Practice.

CHAPTER IV.  
EXCERPT FROM THE SPEECH ON  
"THE MYSTERIES."

ANDOCIDES.

This and the succeeding oration have impressiveness through belief as their ends. Compare thoughtfully the method of each. Each attempts to set forth the worth of personal character.

Wherefore, judges, you ought to pity me in my misfortune; nay, you ought to hold me in honor for what I have done. When Euphiletus proposed the most traitorous of all compacts, I opposed him, and upbraided him as he deserved. Yet I concealed the crime of the conspirators, even when some were put to death and others driven into exile through the information laid by Teucus. Only after we were imprisoned and on the point of being put to death through the instrumentality of Diocleides, did I denounce the four conspirators—Panaetius, Diacritus, Lysistratus,

and Chaeredemus. These men, I admit, were driven into exile on my account. But my act saved my father, my brother-in-law, three cousins, and seven other relatives, all of whom were about to suffer an unjust death. These now behold the light of day on my account, and they frankly admit it. Moreover, the man who threw the whole city into confusion and involved it in the greatest dangers has been convicted. Finally you have been delivered from great dangers and freed from suspicion, one against another.

Recall now, judges, whether I speak the truth, and do those of you who know, enlighten the rest. And do you, clerk, call the persons themselves who were released through me; for they know and can tell you best. This is so, judges; as they will come up and testify as long as you care to listen. . . .

And now, gentlemen, when you are about to pronounce final judgment, there are certain things that you should call to mind. Remember that you now enjoy among all the Greeks the enviable reputation of be-

ing not only brave on the field of battle, but wise in the council chamber. Since, then, you have the admiration of all nations, hostile as well as friendly, take care that you do not deprive your city of its fair fame, or create the impression that your success is due rather to chance than deliberation.

I ask you further to have the same opinion of me that you have of my ancestors. Give me the chance to follow their example. They occupy a place in the memory of their countrymen by the side of the greatest benefactors of the State. They served their country nobly and well, chiefly through good will to you, and with the further purpose that, if ever they or their descendants should fall into misfortune, they might find favor and pardon with you. Forget them not; for once their meritorious deeds served our city in a time of need. When our navy was annihilated at Aegospotami, and many were bent on the destruction of Athens, the Spartans decided to save the city through respect for the memory of those men who had fought

for the liberty of all Greece. Since, then, our city was saved through the merits of my ancestors; for to the deeds that saved our city my ancestors contributed no small part. Share with me, then, the salvation that you received from the Greeks.

Consider, also, if you save me, what manner of citizen you will have in me. Once rich and affluent, I have been reduced to penury and want through no fault of mine, but through calamities that befell our city. Since then I have earned my livelihood in an honest way, toiling with my hands and brain. Many friends I have, too; among them kings and great men of the world, whose friendship you will share with me.

If, on the other hand, you destroy me, there will be no one left to perpetuate our name and family. And yet the house of Andocides and Leogaras is no disgrace to Athens. But great will be the disgrace if I am in exile, and Cleophon, the lyremaker, dwells in the house of my fathers—a house whose walls are decked with trophies taken

by my ancestors from the enemies of their country.

Though my ancestors be dead, let their memory still live, and fancy that you see their shades solemnly pleading in my behalf. For whom else have I to plead for me? My father? He is dead. Brothers? I have none. Children? None have yet been born to me.

Do you, then, be to me father, brother, children. To you I flee for refuge; you I supplicate and beseech. Turn, then, in supplication to yourselves, and grant me life and safety.

#### ANALYSIS.

Make a careful study of the foregoing excerpt. Analyze in detail the mode of appeal—the various motives and sentiments which are brought into play to effect the desired end. Are the points of appeal universal, in their application, or such as would apply to narrow natures?

Make a study of the sentence structure, and the kinds of words used. The whole

excerpt shows an attempt to make the structure and style simple, so that it may be easily understood. There is a constrained and modest temper that makes a strong appeal. There appears much of skill and tact in the method of presentation.

## ENCOMIUM ON EVAGORAS.

ISOCRATES.

When I saw, O Nicocles, that you were honoring the tomb of your father, not only with numerous and magnificent offerings, according to custom, but also with dances, musical exhibitions, and athletic contests, as well as with horse races and trireme races, on a scale that left no possibility of their being surpassed, I thought that Evagoras, if the dead have any feeling of what happens on earth, while accepting this offering favorably, and beholding with joy your filial regard for him and your magnificence, would feel far greater gratitude to anyone who could show himself capable of worthily describing his mode of life and the dangers he had undergone than to anyone else; for we shall find that ambitious and high-souled men not only prefer praise to such honors, but choose



a glorious death in preference to life, and are more jealous of their reputation than of their existence, shrinking from nothing in order to leave behind a remembrance of themselves that shall never die.

Now, expensive displays produce none of these results, but are merely an indication of wealth; those who are engaged in liberal pursuits and other branches of rivalry, by displaying, some their strength, and others their skill, increase their reputation; but a discourse that could worthily describe the acts of Evagoras would cause his noble qualities to be ever remembered amongst all mankind.

Other writers ought accordingly to have praised those who showed themselves distinguished in their own days, in order that both those who are able to embellish the deeds of others by their eloquence, speaking in the presence of those who were acquainted with the facts, might have adhered to the truth concerning them, and that the younger generation might be more eagerly disposed to virtue, feeling convinced that they will be more highly

praised than those to whom they show themselves superior.

At the present time, who could help being disheartened at seeing those who lived in the times of the Trojan wars, and even earlier, celebrated in songs and tragedies, when he knows beforehand that he himself, even if he surpass their noble deeds, will never be deemed worthy of such eulogies? The cause of this is jealousy, the only good of which is that it is the greatest curse to those who are actuated by it. For some men are naturally so peevish that they would rather hear men praised, as to whom they do not feel sure that they ever existed, than those at whose hands they themselves have received benefits.

Men of sense ought not to be the slaves of the folly of such men, but, while despising them, they ought at the same time to accustom others to listen to matters which ought to be spoken of, especially since we know that the arts and everything else are advanced, not by those who abide by established customs, but by those who correct

and, from time to time, venture to alter anything that is unsatisfactory.

I know that the task I am proposing to myself is a difficult one—to eulogize the good qualities of a man in prose. A most convincing proof of this is that, while those who are engaged in the study of philosophy are ever ready to speak about many other subjects of various kinds, none of them has ever yet attempted to compose a treatise on a subject like this.

When a boy, he was distinguished for beauty, strength, and modesty, the most becoming qualities at such an age. In proof of which witnesses could be produced: of his modesty, those of the citizens who were brought up with him; of his beauty, all who saw him; of his strength, the contests in which he surpassed his compeers.

When he grew to man's estate, all these qualities were proportionately enhanced; and in addition to them he acquired courage, wisdom, and uprightness, and these in

others, but each of them in the highest degree.

For he was so distinguished for his bodily and mental excellence, that, whenever any of the reigning princes of the time saw him, they were amazed and became alarmed for their rule, thinking it impossible that a man of such talents would continue to live in the position of a private individual, and whenever they considered his character they felt such confidence in him, that they were convinced that he would assist them if anyone ventured to attack them.

In spite of such changes of opinion concerning him, they were in neither case mistaken; for he neither remained a private individual, nor, on the other hand, did them injury, but the Deity watched over him so carefully in order that he might gain the kingdom honorably, that everything which could not be done without involving impiety was carried out by another's hands, while all the means by which it was possible to acquire the kingdom without impiety or injustice he re-

served for Evagoras. For one of the nobles plotted against and slew the tyrant, and afterwards attempted to seize Evagoras, feeling convinced that he would not be able to secure his authority unless he got him also out of the way.

Evagoras, however, escaped this peril and, having got safe to Soli in Cilicia, did not show the same feeling as those who are overtaken by like misfortunes. Others, even those who have been driven from sovereign power, have their spirits broken by the weight of their misfortunes; but Evagoras rose to such greatness of soul, that, although he had all along lived as a private individual, at the moment when he was compelled to flee, he felt that he was destined to rule.

Despising vagabond exiles, unwilling to attempt to secure his return by means of strangers, and to be under the necessity of courting those inferior to himself, he seized this opportunity, as befits all who desire to act in a spirit of piety and to act in self-defense rather than to be the first to inflict an injury, and made up his mind

either to succeed in acquiring the kingdom or to die in the attempt if he failed. Accordingly, having got together fifty men (on the highest estimate), he made preparations to return to his country in company with them.

From this it would be easy to recognize his natural force of character and the reputation he enjoyed amongst others; for, when he was on the point of setting sail with so small a force on so vast an undertaking, and when all kinds of perils stared him in the face, he did not lose heart himself, nor did any of those whom he had invited to assist him think fit to shrink from dangers, but, as if they were following a god, all stood by their promises, while he showed himself as confident as if he had a stronger force at his command than his adversaries, or knew the result beforehand.

This is evident from what he did; for, after he had landed on the island, he did not think it necessary to occupy any strong position, and, after providing for the safety of his person, to wait and see

whether any of the citizens would come to his assistance; but, without delay, just as he was, on that eventful night he broke open a gate in the wall, and, leading his companions through the gap, attacked the royal residence.

There is no need to waste time in telling of the confusion that ensues at such moments, the terror of the assaulted, and his exhortations to his comrades; but, when the supporters of the tyrant resisted him, while the rest of the citizens looked on and kept quiet, fearing, on the one hand, the authority of their ruler, and, on the other, the valor of Evagoras; he did not abandon the conflict, engaging either in single combat against numbers, or with few supporters against the whole of the enemy's forces, until he had captured the palace, punished his enemies, succored his friends, and finally recovered for his family its ancestral honors, and made himself ruler of the city.

I think, even if I were to mention nothing else, but were to break off my discourse at this point, it would be easy to appre-

ciate the valor of Evagoras and the greatness of his achievements; however, I hope that I shall be able to present both even more clearly in what I am going to say.

For while, in all ages, so many have acquired sovereign power, no one will be shown to have gained this high position more honorably than Evagoras. If we were to compare the deeds of Evagoras with those of each of his predecessors individually, such details would perhaps be unsuitable to the occasion, while time would be insufficient for their recital; but if, selecting the most famous of these men, we examine them in the light of his actions, we shall be able to investigate the matter equally well, and at the same time to discuss it more briefly.

Who would not prefer the perils of Evagoras to the lot of those who inherited kingdoms from their fathers? For no one is so indifferent to fame that he would choose to receive such power from his ancestors rather than to acquire it, as he did, and to bequeath it to his children. Further, amongst the returns of princes



to their thrones that took place in old times, those are most famous which we hear of from the poets; for they not only inform us of the most renowned of all that have taken place, but add new ones out of their own imaginations. None of them, however, has invented the story of a prince who, after having undergone such fearful and terrible dangers, has returned to his own country; but most of them are represented as having regained possession of their kingdoms by chance, others as having overcome their enemies by perfidy and intrigue.

Amongst those who lived afterwards (and perhaps more than all) Cyrus, who deprived the Medes of their rule and acquired it for the Persians, is the object of most general admiration. But, whereas Cyrus conquered the army of the Medes with that of the Persians, an achievement which many (whether Hellenes or barbarians) could easily accomplish, Evagoras undoubtedly carried out the greater part of what has been mentioned by his own unaided energy and valor.

In the next place, it is not yet certain, from the expedition of Cyrus, that he would have faced the perils of Evagoras, while it is obvious, from the achievements of the latter, that he would readily have attempted the same undertakings as Cyrus. Further, while Evagoras acted in everything in accordance with rectitude and justice, several of the acts of Cyrus were not in accordance with religion; for the former merely destroyed his enemies, the latter slew his mother's father. Wherefore, if any were content to judge, not the greatness of events, but the good qualities of each, they would rightly praise Evagoras more than Cyrus.

But—if I am to speak briefly and without reserve, without fear of jealousy, and with the utmost frankness—no one, whether mortal, demigod, or immortal, will be found to have acquired his kingdom more honorably, more gloriously, or more piously than he did. One would feel still more confident of this if, disbelieving what I have said, he were to attempt to investigate how each obtained supreme power.

For it will be manifest that I am not in any way desirous of exaggerating, but that I have spoken with such assurance concerning him because the facts which I state are true.

Even if he had gained distinction only for unimportant enterprises, it were fitting that he should be considered worthy of praise in proportion; but, as it is, all would allow that supreme power is the greatest, the most august, and most coveted of all blessings, human and divine. Who, then, whether poet, orator, or inventor of words, could extol in a manner worthy of his achievements one who has gained the most glorious prize that exists by most glorious deeds?

However, while superior in these respects, he will not be found to have been inferior in others, but, in the first place, although naturally gifted with most admirable judgment, and able to carry out his undertakings most successfully, he did not think it right to act carelessly or on the spur of the moment in the conduct of affairs, but occupied most of his time in

acquiring information, in reflection, and deliberation, thinking that, if he thoroughly developed his intellect, his rule would be in like manner glorious, and looking with surprise upon those who, while exercising care in everything else for the sake of the mind, take no thought for the intelligence itself.

In the next place, his opinion of events was consistent; for, since he saw that those who look best after realities suffer the least annoyance, and that true recreation consists not in idleness, but in success that is due to continuous toil, he left nothing unexamined, but had such thorough acquaintance with the condition of affairs, and the character of each of the citizens, that neither did those who plotted against him take him unawares, nor were the respectable citizens unknown to him, but all were treated as they deserved; for he neither punished nor rewarded them in accordance with what he heard from others, but formed his judgment of them from his own personal knowledge.

But, while he busied himself in the care

of such matters, he never made a single mistake in regard to any of the events of everyday life, but carried on the administration of the city in such a spirit of piety and humanity that those who visited the island envied the power of Evagoras less than those who were subject to his rule; for he consistently avoided treating anyone with injustice, but honored the virtuous, and, while ruling all vigorously, punished the wrongdoers in strict accordance with justice; having no need of counsellors, but, nevertheless, consulting his friends; often making concessions to his intimates, but in everything showing himself superior to his enemies; preserving his dignity, not by knitted brows, but by his manner of life; not behaving irregularly or capriciously in anything, but preserving consistency in word as well as in deed; priding himself, not on the successes that were due to chance, but on those due to his own efforts; bringing his friends under his influence by kindness, and subduing the rest by his greatness of soul; terrible, not by the number of his punish-

ments, but by the superiority of his intellect over that of the rest; controlling his pleasures, but not led by them; gaining much leisure by little labor, but never neglecting important business for the sake of short-lived ease; and, in general, omitting none of the fitting attributes of kings, he selected the best from each form of political activity; a popular champion by reason of his care for the interests of the people, an able administrator in his management of the state generally, a thorough general in his resourcefulness in the face of danger, and a thorough monarch from his pre-eminence in all these qualities. That such were his attributes, and even more than these, it is easy to learn from his acts themselves.

#### ANALYSIS.

The student is urged to make a very careful study of the speech by Isocrates. The speech of encomium, or eulogy, or appreciation is a very common type of public appeal. It frequently occurs that such speeches lack the interest and the

vitality and influence that they should have simply because they are mere biographies. If the student will make a discriminating study of this example he will gain many points of suggestion for the modeling of this kind of an address. Again, it happens that an eulogist overdoes the matter of praise. Write a short discussion of what you gather of methods and principles from your study of this eulogy.

## CHAPTER V.

The last two speeches, by Aeschines and Demosthenes, will make very interesting studies of controversial address of a high character. Particular attention is to be given to studying the means each speaker uses to win the support of his hearers. It is difficult for the modern controversialist to learn that he loses support with right minded and thinking people when he adopts the type of speech used by Aeschines. Abuse, exaggeration, overzealous, hostile earnestness is bound to estrange the audience. Note the great dignity, temperateness, manliness of Demosthenes' appeal. His fair-mindedness and the absence of enmity do much to win him support.

### AGAINST CROWNING DEMOSTHENES.

Aeschines delivered this speech in an attempt to prevent Demosthenes from be-



ing crowned for his patriotic services to the state. Ctesiphon had made the proposition that Demosthenes be crowned.

Corax, one of the earliest of the Greek teachers of oratory, laid down the principle that a speaker must avoid offending his audience. By attacking Demosthenes in the uncontrolled and hateful manner he used, Aeschines unquestionably hurt himself and greatly lessened his chance of winning his audience to his point of view. It is a great question whether abuse and uncontrolled passion ever secure the result desired when thinking men and women are being addressed.

Much of the speech is omitted.

I may here foretell the part he will play when he sees that you are in earnest in your endeavor to hold him to his true course. Ctesiphon will introduce that arch impostor, that plunderer of the public, who has cut the constitution into shreds; the man who can weep more easily than others laugh, and from whom perjury flows in ready words.

He can, I doubt not, change his tone, and pass from tears to gross abuse, insult the citizens who are listening outside, and cry out that the partisans of oligarchical power, detected by the hand of truth, are pressing round the prosecutor to support him, while the friends of the constitution are rallying round the accused. And when he dares to speak so, answer thus his seditious menaces: "What, Demosthenes, had the heroes who brought back our fugitive citizens from Phyle been like you, our democratic form of government had ceased to exist! Those illustrious men saved the state exhausted by great civil disorders in pronouncing that wise and admirable sentence 'oblivion of all offenses.' But you, more careful of your rounded periods than of the city's safety, are willing to reopen all her wounds."

When this perjurer shall seek for credit by taking refuge in his oaths, remind him that to the foresworn man who asks belief in them from those he has deceived so often, of two things one is needful, neither of which exists for Demosthenes; he must

either get new gods, or an audience not the same. And to his tears and wordy lamentations, when he shall ask, "Whither shall I fly, Athenians, should you cast me out, I have not where to rest?" reply, "Where shall the people seek refuge, Demosthenes; what allies, what resources, what reserve have you prepared for us? We all see what you have provided for yourself. When you have left the city, you shall not stop, as you would seem, to dwell in Piraeus, but, quickly thence departing, you shall visit other lands with all the appointments for your journey provided through your corruption from Persian gold or public plunder."

But why at all these tears, these cries, this voice of lamentation? Is it not Ctesiphon who is accused, and even for him may not the penalty be moderated by you? Thou pleadest not, Demosthenes, either for thy life, thy fortune, or thy honor! Why is he then so disquieted? About crowns of gold and proclamations in the theatre against the laws: the man who, were the people so insensate or so forget-

ful of the present as to wish to crown him in this time of public distress, should himself step forth and say, "Men of Athens, while I accept the crown, I disapprove the proclamation of the honor at a time like this: it should not be in regard to things for which the state is now mourning and while it is in the depth of grief." Would not a man whose life was really upright so speak out; only a knave who assumes the garb of virtue would talk as you do?

Let none of you, by Hercules, be apprehensive lest this high-souled citizen, this distinguished warrior, from loss of this reward should on his return home take his life. The man who rates so low your consideration as to make a thousand incisions on that impure and mortgaged head which Ctesiphon proposes against all law to honor with a crown, makes money of his wounds by bringing actions for the effects of his own premeditated blows. Yes, that crown of his so often battered, that perhaps even now it bears upon it the marks of Midias' anger, that crown which brings

its owner in an income, serves both for revenue and head! . . .

And can it be that he whom you have thought worthy by your decree, of the honor of this crown, is so unknown to the public which has been so largely benefited by him that you must procure assistance to speak in his behalf? Ask of the jurors whether they know Chabrias, Iphicrates and Timotheus, and learn from them why they have honored and erected statues to them? Will they not proclaim with one voice that they rendered honor to Chabrias for his naval victory near Naxos; to Iphicrates for having cut off a Spartan corps; to Timotheus for his expedition to Corcyra; to other heroes for their many glorious achievements? Ask them now why Demosthenes is to be rewarded. Is it for his venality, for his cowardice, for his base desertion of his post in the day of battle? In honoring such an one will you not dishonor yourselves and the gallant men who have laid down their lives for you in the field? whose plaintive remonstrances against the crowning of this man

you may almost seem to hear! Strange, passing strange, does it seem, Athenians, that you banish from the limits of the state the stocks and stones, the senseless implements which have unwittingly caused death by casualty; that the hand which has inflicted the wound of self-destruction is buried apart from the rest of the body; and that yet you can render honor to this Demosthenes, by whose counsels this last fatal expedition in which your troops were slaughtered and destroyed was planned! The victims of this massacre are thus insulted, in their graves, and the survivors outraged and discouraged when they behold the only reward of patriotic valor to be an unremembered death and a disregarded memory! And last and most important of all consequences, what answer shall you make to your children when they ask you after what examples they shall frame their lives? It is not, men of Athens—you know it well—it is not the palaestra, the seminary, or the study of the liberal arts alone, which form and educate our youth. Of vastly greater value are the

lessons taught by these honors publicly conferred. Is a man proclaimed and crowned in the theatre for virtue, courage, and patriotism when his irregular and vicious life belies the honor, the young who witness this are perverted and corrupted! In a profligate and a pander, such as Ctesiphon, sentenced and punished, an instructive lesson is given to the rising generation. Has a citizen voted in opposition to justice and propriety, and does he, on his return to his house, attempt to instruct his son; disobedience surely follows, and the lesson is justly looked upon as importunate and out of place. Pronounce your verdict then, not as simple jurors, but as guardians of the State, whose decision can be justified in the eyes of their absent fellow citizens who shall demand a strict account of it. Know ye not, Athenians, that the people is judged by the ministers whom it honors; will it not be disgraceful, then, that you shall be thought to resemble the baseness of Demosthenes, and not the virtues of your ancestors?

How, then, is this reproach to be avoided? It must be by distrusting the men who usurp the character of upright and patriotic citizens, which their entire conduct gainsays. Good will and zeal for the public interest can be readily assumed in name; oftentimes those who have the smallest pretensions to them by their conduct seize upon and take refuge behind these honorable titles. When you find, then, an orator desirous of being crowned by strangers and of being proclaimed in presence of the Greeks, let him, as the law requires in other cases, prove the claim which he asserts by the evidence of a life free from reproach, and a wise and blameless course. If he be unable to do this, do not confirm to him the honors which he claims, and try at least to preserve the remnant of that public authority which is fast escaping from you. Even now, strange as it should seem, are not the Senate and the people passed over and neglected, and despatches and deputations received by private citizens, not from obscure individuals, but from the most important person-



ages of Europe and Asia? Far from denying that for which under our laws the punishment is death, it is made the subject of open public boast; the correspondence is exhibited and read; and you are invited by some to look upon them as the guardians of the constitution, while others demand to be rewarded as the saviors of the country. The people, meanwhile, as if struck with the decrepitude of age and broken down by their misfortunes, preserve the republic only in name and abandon to others the reality of authority. You thus retire from the Assembly, not as from a public deliberation, but as from an entertainment given at common cost where each guest carries away with him a share of the remnants of the feast. That I speak forth the words of truth and soberness, hearken to what I am about to say.

It distresses me to recur so often to our public calamities, but when a private citizen undertook to sail only to Samos to get out of the way, he was condemned to death on the same day by the Council of Areopagus as a traitor to his country. Another

private citizen, unable to bear the fear which oppressed him, and sailing in consequence to Rhodes, was recently denounced for this and escaped punishment by an equal division of the votes. Had a single one been cast on the other side, he would have been either banished or put to death. Compare these instances with the present one. An orator, the cause of all our misfortunes, who abandons his post in time of war and flies from the city, proclaims himself worthy of crowns and proclamations. Will you not drive such a man from your midst as the common scourge of Greece; or will you not rather seize upon and punish him as a piratical braggart who steers his course through our government by dint of phrases?

Consider, moreover, the occasion on which you are called upon to record your verdict. In a few days the Pythian Games will be celebrated, and the assembled Greeks will all be reunited in your city. She has already suffered much disparagement from the policy of Demosthenes: should you now crown him by your votes

you will seem to share the same opinion as the men who wish to break the common peace. By adopting the contrary course you will free the state from any such suspicion.

Let your deliberations, then, be in accord with the interests of the city; it is for her, and not a foreign community, you are now to decide. Do not throw away your honors, but confer them with discernment upon high-minded citizens and deserving men. Search with both eyes and ears as to who they are among you who are today standing forth in Demosthenes' behalf. Are they the companions of his youth who shared with him the manly toils of the chase or the robust exercises of the palaestra? No, by the Olympian Jove, he has passed not his life in hunting the wild boar or in the preparation of his body for fatigue and hardship, but in the exercise of chicane at the cost of the substance of men of wealth!

Examine well his vainglorious boasting when he shall dare to say that by his embassy he withdrew the Byzantines from

the cause of Philip; that by his eloquence he detached from him the Acarnanians, and so transported the Thebans as to confirm them upon your side. He believes indeed that you have reached such a point of credulity that you are ready to be persuaded by him of anything he may choose to utter, as if you had here in your midst the goddess Persuasion herself, and not an artful demagogue.

And when, at the close of his harangue, Demosthenes shall invite the partakers of his corruption to press round and defend him, let there be present in your imagination upon the platform from which I am now speaking the venerable forms of the ancient benefactors of the state, arrayed in all their virtue, to oppose these men's insolence. I see among them the wise Solon, that upright lawgiver who founded our popular government upon the soundest principles of legislation, gently advising you with his native moderation not to place your oaths and the law under the control of this man's discourse. And Aristides, by whose equity the imposts upon

the Greeks were regulated, whose daughters, left in poverty through his incorruptible integrity, were endowed by the state, Aristides is seen complaining of this outrage upon justice, and demanding whether the descendants of the men who thought worthy of death and actually banished from their city and country Arthmius the Zelian, then living in their midst and enjoying the sacred rights of hospitality for merely bringing Persian gold into Greece, are now going to cover themselves with disgrace by honoring with a crown of gold the man who has not simply brought hither the stranger's money, but is enjoying here the price of his treason. And Themistocles and the men who fell at Marathon and Plataea, think you that they are insensible to what is taking place? Do not their voices cry out from the very tombs in mournful protests against this perverse rendering of honor to one who has dared to proclaim his union with the barbarians against the Greeks?

As for me, O Earth and Sun, O Virtue, and thou, Intelligence, by whose light we

are enabled to discern and to separate good from evil, as for me, I have directed my efforts against this wrong. I have lifted up my voice against this injustice! If I have spoken well and loftily against this crime, I have spoken as I could have wished; but if my utterances have been feeble and ill-directed, still they have been according to the measure of my strength. It is for you, men of Athens and jurors, to weigh carefully both what has been spoken and what has been left unsaid, and to render such a decision as shall not only be upright but for the advantage of the State.—*Aeschines*.

## DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN.

1. I begin, men of Athens, by praying to every god and goddess, that the same good-will, which I have ever cherished toward the commonwealth and all of you, may be requited to me on the present trial. I pray likewise—and this specially concerns yourselves, your religion, and your honor—that the gods may put it in your minds, not to take counsel of my opponent

touching the manner in which I am to be heard—that would indeed be cruel!—but of the laws and of your oath; wherein (besides the other obligations) it is prescribed that you shall hear both sides alike.

2. Many advantages hath Aeschines over me on this trial; and two especially, men of Athens. First, my risk in the contest is not the same. It is assuredly not the same for me to forfeit your regard, as for my adversary not to succeed in his indictment. My second disadvantage is, the natural disposition of mankind to take pleasure in hearing invective and accusation, and to be annoyed by those who praise themselves. To Aeschines is assigned the part which gives pleasure; that which is (I may fairly say) offensive to all, is left for me. And if, to escape from this, I make no mention of what I have done, I shall appear to be without defense against his charges, without proof of my claims to honor; whereas, if I proceed to give an account of my conduct and measures, I shall be forced to speak frequently of myself. I will endeavor, then, to do so with

all becoming modesty : what I am driven to by the necessity of the case will be fairly chargeable to my opponent who has instituted such a prosecution.

3. Many accusations and falsehoods hath Aeschines urged against me, O Athenians, but one thing surprised me more than all, that, when he mentioned the late misfortunes of the country, he felt not as became a well-disposed and upright citizen, he shed no tear, experienced no such emotion : with a loud voice exulting, and straining his throat, he imagined apparently that he was accusing me, while he was giving proof against himself, that our distresses touched him not in the same manner as the rest.

4. A person who pretends, as he did, to care for the laws and constitution, ought at least to have this about him, that he grieves and rejoices for the same cause as the people, and not by his politics to be enlisted in the ranks of the enemy, as Aeschines has plainly done, saying that I am the cause of all, and that the commonwealth has fallen into troubles through



me, when it was not owing to my views or principles that you began to assist the Greeks; for, if you conceded this to me, that my influence caused you to resist the subjugation of Greece, it would be a higher honor than any that you have bestowed upon others. I myself would not make such an assertion, and Aeschines, if he acted honestly, would never, out of enmity to me, have disparaged and defamed the greatest of your glories.

5. But why do I censure him for this, when with calumny far more shocking has he assailed me? He that charges me with Philippizing—what would he not say? By Hercules and the Gods! if one had honestly to inquire, discarding all expression of spite and falsehood, who the persons really are, on whom the blame of what has happened may by common consent fairly and justly be thrown, it would be found they are persons in the various states like Aeschines, persons who, while Philip's power was feeble and exceedingly small, and we were constantly warning and exhorting and giving salutary counsel, sacri-

ficed the general interests for the sake of selfish lucre, deceiving and corrupting their respective countrymen, until they made them slaves.

6. The day will not last me to recount the names of the traitors. These, O Athenians, are men of the same politics in their own countries as this party among you,—profligates, and parasites, and miscreants, who have each of them crippled their fatherlands; toasted away their liberty, first to Philip and last to Alexander; while freedom and independence, which the Greeks of olden time regarded as the test and standard of well-being, they have annihilated.

7. Of this base and infamous conspiracy and profligacy—or rather, O Athenians, if I am to speak in earnest, of this betrayal of Grecian liberty—Athens is by all mankind acquitted, owing to my counsels; and I am acquitted by you. Then do you ask me, Aeschines, for what merit I claim to be honored? I will tell you. Because, while all the statesmen in Greece, beginning with yourself, have been corrupted

formerly by Philip and now by Alexander, me neither opportunity, nor fair speeches, nor large promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor anything else could tempt or induce to betray aught that I considered just and beneficial to my country.

8. Whatever I have advised my fellow-citizens, I have never advised like you men, leaning as in a balance to the side of profit: all my proceedings have been those of a soul upright, honest, and incorrupt: intrusted with affairs of greater magnitude than any of my contemporaries, I have administered them all honestly and faithfully. Therefore do I claim to be honored.

9. As to this fortification, for which you ridiculed me, of the wall and fosse, I regard them as deserving of thanks and praise, and so they are; but I place them nowhere near my acts of administration. Not with stones nor with bricks did I fortify Athens: nor is this the ministry on which I most pride myself. Would you view my fortifications aright, you will find arms, and states, and posts, and harbors, and galleys, and horses, and men for their defense. These are the bulwarks with

which I protected Attica, as far as was possible by human wisdom; with these I fortified our territory, not the circle of Piræus or the city. Nay more; I was not beaten by Philip in estimates or preparations; far from it; but the generals and forces of the allies were overcome by his fortune.

10. If the power of some deity or of fortune, or the worthlessness of commanders, or the wickedness of you that betrayed your countries, or all these things together, injured and eventually ruined our cause, of what is Demosthenes guilty? Had there in each of the Greek cities been one such man as I was in my station among you; or rather, had Thessaly possessed one single man, and Arcadia one, of the same sentiments as myself, none of the Greeks either beyond or within Thermopylæ would have suffered their present calamities; all would have been free and independent, living prosperously in their own countries with perfect safety and security, thankful to you and the rest of the Athenians for such manifold blessings through me.

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